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But the couple were surprised by a Lavame man who had stayed at home. Now this man was a *Ghamba Lep*,[1] one of those who through membership of a well-known secret society can turn themselves into birds, and he resolved to make use of this power to warn the husband on his return from Oba. So, as the returning canoe rounded the sandy promontory of La-singo,[2] he transformed himself into two banded rails (*pilagh*), a male and a female, and he made the male rail chase the female along the shore till she yielded and they copulated.

Now the husband saw this from his canoe, and, recognising that it must be the work of a *Ghamba Lep*, determined to find out what had happened. So he went home, and beat his wife till she confessed her transgression, saying that she had lain with the Handillagh man. So the men of Lavame fought those of Handillagh till the decimated survivors of the latter took refuge in the village of Singon, and those who remained of Lavame left Vao and established themselves in a new village of the same name on the mainland. This village has now died out, the only survivors being one man and his two sons, who, having returned to Vao, are now living at Togh-vanu.

Physical Types

The result of this dual origin of the population still shows itself in a variation in physical type remarkable in so small an island. Thus Speiser comments that "it is possible today to distinguish clearly on Vao two types, the Melanesian type from Malekula, dark-skinned, thick-set and frizzly-haired, and the type from Oba, lighter-skinned, more slender and often with almost curly hair." [3] Owing to intermarriage, however, this variation in type is no longer correlated with any existing topographical divisions, but occurs sporadically throughout the whole population, which now forms a single cultural unit closely knit together through ties of kinship.

ORIGINS OF THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Turning once more to the evidence regarding the origin and nature of the existing social organisation, four sets of facts present themselves:

(*a*) The mythological data concerning the creation of the inhabitants of Pete-hul through the direct agency of Ta-ghar.
(*b*) Accounts of the subsequent formation of its offshoot village Togh-vanu.
(*c*) The genealogies.
(*d*) The kinship system.

I propose first to examine the mythological data and the genealogies.

[1] See p. 238. [2] Possibly Singon. [3] Speiser, 3, pp. 59-60.

1; Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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Myth of the Creation of Pete-hul through the Direct Action of Ta-ghar

174 The following myth told of the foundation of Pete-hul is found throughout the Small Islands of Malekula.[1]

I have two main versions from Vao, one recorded by myself, and the other by Godefroy. I will begin with mine.

Author's account.

174 539 The scene of the creation was what is now the Upper Side of the dancing-ground of Pete-hul, where it abuts on the Quarter called *Lambarang* (A[1]), which means "At the Cave." At this spot there grew a huge tree of the kind called *gha-tambol*, with buttress-roots dividing the ground about its base into a number of separate compartments. Such trees are regarded with great veneration throughout Malekula, second only to the banyans as objects of religious awe. Many taboos exist regarding treading over their roots, a fact which does not, however, prevent the compartments they form being used for storage and other purposes.

Clinging to this particular *gha-tambol* tree was a creeper of the kind called in the Atchin dialect *memel*, but which Godefroy spells *nos-mosl*. This creeper, which twines itself high up among the branches of the forest trees, produces a superb oval-shaped fruit, the size of a large plum, coloured a most lovely red. Each fruit swings separately on the end of its own hanging line of creeper. It is an object of passionate desire not only to adults, but also to children, who eat it with a kind of reverent relish not accorded to any other fruit.

According to my account of the creation, there were at first no people. Then Ta-ghar caused one of these *memel* fruit to fall so that it struck a buttress-root of the *gha-tambol* tree, reaching the ground in two halves, one on either side of the root. One half became a man, the other a woman. The name of the man was Ghiagh,[2] and that of the woman Le-huar. One day the man heard a noise, and, looking over the root, he saw the woman, and said, "Where did you come from?" She answered, "I've been here a long time. Where did you come from?" He said, "I've been here a long time too." They did not know they came from the *memel* fruit. They remained there, and after a time they married. And the woman bore four sons, the founders of the four Quarters of Pete-hul.

[1] For other versions see pp. 165, 171-2.

[2] I have no further information about Ghiagh other than a single detail clearly belonging to a longer story, to the effect that his hair was burnt by a jealous female sorcerer. His name is philologically equivalent to that of Ias in the oral historical records of Atchin mentioned on pp. 171, 715.

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Godefroy's account.

Godefroy's account is more racy.[1] Having described the falling of the *memel* fruit on to the buttress-root of the *gha-tambol* tree, he says: "The fruit split in two. One half fell to the right, the other half fell to the left. And it happened thus, that one half was a man and the other half a woman. Both slept with a profound sleep. How long . . . did this sleep last? No one knows. But one day, when the woman turned over on her side, her elbow struck the buttress-root. This unexpected noise woke up the man, who, after thinking it over, raised himself from the ground by leaning on his arm, and looked over to the other side. 'Hallo,' he said, 'there is a woman!' The woman, in her turn, was awakened by the sound of this voice which she had never heard before. Wondering what it might be, she cast her eyes over the partition, and cried, 'Hallo, it is a man!' Her woman's tongue already itched to speak, and she could not prevent herself from asking, 'What are you doing there?'—'I was asleep.'—'And so was I; I have been asleep for so long, so long. . . .' The man, interrupting her, said, 'I am hungry. Go and find me something to eat. . . .' They both got up and looked for fruits with which to satisfy their hunger. That evening, they went back to their respective compartments, and again slept. Next morning they woke up cramped with the coolness of the night and with the dew, which had been heavy. So they made a fire[2] on which to cook chestnuts. Doubtless the rain troubled them. But it was not till several days had passed that they said to one another, 'Let us build a house.' Every evening after that they joined one another in their dwelling-place, and, finding themselves sheltered from the heat of the sun at noon and from the cold by night, they decided to remain together. It is in this way that the man married the woman."

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 45-6. Though claiming to be in the words of his informant, Val-vale, of the village of Togh-vanu, it includes, however, several European solecisms, which I omit.

[2] Speiser (3, p. 365), quoting verbal information from Père Jamond, former R.C. Missionary on Vao, gives further details about the origin of this fire in the following account: "Once a fruit fell from a tree on to the edge of a root. The fruit split into two and one part fell on either side of the root. These became man and woman. By the side of the tree grew a bamboo. The wind blew it so that it rubbed against a dead branch. That was the origin of fire. The man took the fire, fanned it and lit brushwood with it. The woman smelt the fire, looked over the edge of the root, saw the man and asked him what it was. He told her it was fire, and gave her some. Since then men and women have always had separate fires. Later, they married." The inclusion of the origin of fire in this account of the mating of the first couple is of special interest with regard to an article by the same author, in which he points out the symbolic meaning of fire as representing what he calls *Lebenskraft* (life-force) as opposed to *Zeugungskraft* (physical procreation), and sums up: "The strength-giving principle that contains above all the life-force is fire, which originally arose in the genital organs and is revealed in the act of copulation. The fire is communicated to the genital organs" (Speiser, 4, p. 250).

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The Genealogies

174 In both accounts, the myth now merges directly into the genealogy of the human founders of Pete-hul.

173 Before using the evidence afforded by this, it is first necessary to say a few words regarding the reliability of the genealogical records kept orally by the natives. I have already called attention to the close connexion existing in all the Small Islands between these genealogies and the stone monuments erected during the course of the Maki rites, by means of which men, or groups of men, commemorate themselves, and in or near which their spirits are believed in some measure to survive. It is by means of these genealogies, and by the stones which act as a perpetual reminder of the lives and exploits of those who erect them, that historical tradition dealing with such ancestors as actually lived on the island is kept alive.

As to the accuracy of the genealogies, I can speak best from my experience on Atchin. There I collected the genealogies of the entire island, and possessed the means to check them from a great number of angles, historical, ritual and sociological, and through the converging of family pedigrees. The genealogy of the Superior double-village of Ruruar, as already mentioned, goes back nineteen generations.[1] The only doubtful points occurred in about the fifteenth and sixteenth ascending generations in the male line, when there was occasional doubt as to whether certain ancestors were brothers or not.

Foundation of Pete-hul nine or ten generations ago.

174 With regard to the Vao genealogies, I obtained only two, namely, 173 the immediate family pedigree of my informant, Ma-taru, of Tolamp,[2] and the historical genealogy from the village of Togh-vanu leading back 115 to the founders of Pete-hul, which is included in Table II. For this genealogy my authority was Pelur, at that time the oldest leading man of Togh-vanu, who was also my chief informant in several other matters. In so far as I was able to check him, he was entirely reliable, and several times over gave me the same list of ancestors, hesitating only over one name.[3]

174 According to his account, he was himself the seventh (or eighth) in the direct line of descent from the founder of Pete-hul, and the youngest 173 living member of Togh-vanu, his son's son Naturel, was the ninth (or tenth). The best confirmation of his accuracy (within one generation) is, however, the corroboration afforded by Godefroy, who, quite inde-

[1] In the historical genealogies only men are recorded who stand in the direct male line. Women, being lost to the clan, are not remembered.

[2] See Table X.

[3] There was some doubt whether Peleris or Kalo-won was the father of Tulul.

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pendently of me and many years later, himself recorded the genealogy of another member of the same village, an old man named Val-vale, which leads back by an entirely different line of ancestors to the same founder, eleven generations removed from the youngest child then living (see Table III).[1]

The Four Founders of Pete-hul

Returning now to the account of the creation of the first man and woman from the two halves of the *memel* fruit, it will be remembered that, according to my version, the woman bore four sons, the founders of the four Quarters of Pete-hul. The names of these four brothers, according to the alleged order of their birth and with the Quarters they founded, are set out below:

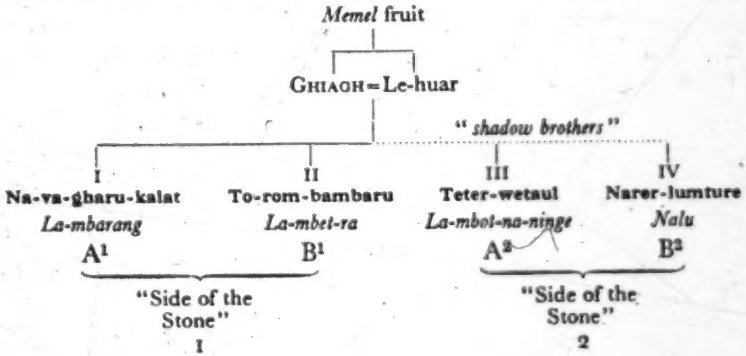

Fig. 7

Of these four names I am able to indicate the meaning of only the first two. *Na-va-gharu* means "two hundred," and *kalat* is the name of a stinging nettle used in neighbouring islands as a whip during initiation and in magic as a symbol of dangerous strength. The usual use of high numbers is for counting the tusked boars sacrificed during the Maki rite. Here it may only be taken as a superlative, so that the name of the eldest brother might possibly be translated "very dangerous man." The name of the second brother, To-rom-bambaru, means "straying wildfowl," a

[1] The genealogies of the remaining villages are not so extensive as those of Pete-hul-Togh-vanu. According to Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 49), those of Norohure go back only seven generations, and those of Singon seven or eight. He does not give the numbers for Peter-ihi and Venu. Nor did he succeed in recording the names of the first couple created by Ta-ghar, i.e. Ghiagh and Le-huar, for to his question, "What were the names of the first couple that issued from the *memel* fruit?" the humorous reply was, "We do not know, because the *memel* did not talk" (ibid. p. 47).

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older men, To-rom-bambaru was said to be the eldest brother and Na-vagharu-kalat the second. Closer enquiry elicited the fact that Ma-taru belonged to the refugee community from the submerged island of Tolamp, who had taken up their quarters on Togh-vanu ground. To-rom-bambaru being the ancestor of the Togh-vanu people, Ma-taru had sought, through personal pride, to claim seniority for him. This kind of juggling with ancestry prompted by emulation is common among all peoples, and is made easier in Malekula by the fact that in foundation myths, as in the kinship system, the terms "elder" and "younger" are often used for the "senior" and "junior" branches of a family or for the "Superior" and "Inferior" divisions of society. Thus, the alleged respective "ages" of the four brothers figuring in the foundation story do not in fact represent ages in years, but the accepted position in society of the groups they represent and the order of precedence accorded to these groups in ritual. By claiming seniority for To-rom-bambaru, Ma-taru was thus trying to establish a point of precedence, and not of age, and in so doing was in fact confusing matters of social organisation on Vao with his own undoubted right of precedence in matters connected with the Maki, due to quite different historical factors, which will be dealt with later.[1]

FOUNDATION OF THE OFFSHOOT VILLAGE TOGH-VANU

TWO DANCING-GROUNDS MADE END-TO-END. CHALLENGE TO STRANGERS LANDING AT KOWU SAID TO BE THE ORIGIN OF WARFARE

I propose now to return to my own fully checked and detailed historical account, which, in the narrations of the natives, follows immediately after the mythological story of the creation of the first man and woman from the split halves of the *memel* fruit. The woman bore four sons, whose names and alleged order of birth have already been given, together with the two ways in which they were paired.

These four brothers, coupled in pairs of alternating ages (that is to say as representing patrilineal moieties), made two dancing-grounds, Na-vagharu-kalat (A^1) and Teter-wetaul (A^2), the first and third brothers, making one, and To-rom-bambaru (B^1) and Narer-lumture (B^2), the second and fourth brothers, making the other. The two dancing-grounds were constructed end-to-end, in the same way as the two dancing-grounds at present existing at Peter-ihi (see Map III) and in the village of Olep on Atchin, in contrast to the usual arrangement of separate dancing-grounds now existing in all the other villages in these two islands. Having made their two dancing-grounds thus end-to-end, the two pairs of alternate brothers proceeded to perform the Maki rite. Both pairs celebrated the

[1] See p. 281.

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174 culminating sacrifice on the same day, and each sacrificed 100 re-entrant-tuskers.[1]

It is customary, on the thirtieth day after the sacrifice, when the month-long seclusion in the *ghamal* is over, for the chief participants to make vows dedicating themselves to some exemplary act of piety.[2] Members of all villages on Vao, as well as guests from the mainland and other Small Islands, having danced all night, adopt an expectant attitude and sing special songs. Suddenly one of the chief performers issues from the crowd and dances round them, hissing fiercely and holding out his right hand as if holding a spear. Then one of the dancers calls out, "Speak. Let us hear what you have to say." In the historical account, Na-va-gharu-kalat is represented as instructing them to do this, and when they called upon him, said, "What do you want me to say? I tell you to keep good watch on the beach Kowu, and, if any stranger come ashore there, to kill him and bring him to me to cut up. If any more come, do the same to them."

Then the people called on To-rom-bambaru, and he said, "What shall I say? My brother has spoken and told you that if any stranger come ashore at Kowu, you should kill him and bring him here, that we may cut him up. I have no more to say. I have finished." Then he sat down.

This arrogant speech of Na-va-gharu-kalat's, reflecting, among other things, the motive of human sacrifice which lives on in native culture despite the substitution of tusked boars in Maki ritual,[3] led to embittered fighting both on the island itself and with the peoples inhabiting the mainland of Malekula. A whole series of wars followed, some of which are recounted below, and it is said that not only these but all subsequent wars have their origin in the original challenge issued by Na-va-gharu-kalat.[4]

For reasons by no means clear from the bare story itself, but of which an explanation will be forthcoming when we come to examine the history of the kinship system,[5] this speech led also to a split in the village itself, half of the sub-clan represented by To-r[illegible]bambaru seceding to form the offshoot village of Togh-vanu as a s[illegible]dependent unit. In this way, out of the single-village of Pete-hul was formed the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu.

[1] Tusked boars are graded according to the length of curvature of tusk. These grades are described on pp. 242 ff. A re-entrant-tusker is one of the higher grades, and at the time with which this tradition deals, may have been the highest then known. For the mass sacrifice referred to see pp. 989 ff.

[2] See p. 405.

[3] See pp. 235, 617 ff.

[4] The reasons for the social upheaval which this speech caused will be discussed in Chapter VI, and some of the wars themselves in Chapter XXIII. The speech also recalls the practice of killing strangers, as described on pages 253, 601, and also in Codrington, 3, pp. 345-6.

[5] See pp. 153 ff.

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TOGH-VANU FOUNDED BY TULUL

Though according to Godefroy's account the move was made by To-rom-bambaru himself, this was not actually the case, the new foundation in fact taking several generations to accomplish. For, as will have been seen from his reply to Na-va-gharu-kalat's challenge, To-rom-bambaru appears to have agreed with his elder brother's policy and to have remained in Pete-hul. According to my version it was his son Peleris who, for reasons to be gone into later, became angry, and it was his anger that finally resulted in the split-up of the village of Pete-hul and the foundation of the offshoot village. The move was not actually made by Peleris, however, but by his son Tulul, grandson of To-rom-bambaru. Tulul belonged to *Tosan na-hal*, the Inferior "Side of the Lodge" in To-rom-bambaru's Quarter. According to the native account, Tulul, when he seceded, took with him not only his own brothers, but also "any other members of the village who wished," no matter to what Lodge they belonged, all of whom helped him to found the new village.

It is important to note that it was not till the third generation, under Tulul, that the split in the village organisation took place. It is to be noted also that, though in my transcription of the story Tulul took with him "any other members of the village who wished," examination of the genealogies show that those who actually did follow him all came from two Quarters only, namely those founded by To-rom-bambaru, the second brother, and Narer-lumture, the fourth.

As a result of this reorganisation, Pete-hul, the "perfect" parent village, retained its four Quarters, but its offshoot village Togh-vanu had only two, as seen in Fig. 11.

FORMATION OF THE TOGH-VANU QUARTERS

Tulul himself founded the Quarter and "Side of the Lodge" *La-mat-na-maki*, and when his descendants multiplied, some of them split off and founded the offshoot "Side of the Lodge" called *La-vag-vag*.

The second Togh-vanu Quarter, *Holovon*, was founded by a party of men from the Pete-hul Quarter *Nalu*, descendants of the fourth of the original brothers, Narer-lumture (B^2), who, it will be remembered, was paired with To-rom-bambaru (B^1) in the making of the original two dancing-grounds placed end-to-end at Pete-hul. When the men of *Holovon* Quarter had sufficiently multiplied, one section of them split off to found the "Side of the Lodge" called *La-tamp*.

Thus, in the first place, there were but two Quarters in Togh-vanu.

The third Quarter, *La-mbang-ne-me-tine*, was founded from *Holovon*,

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174 apparently as late as three generations later than Tulul, by a man named Ulter, one of whose sons, Bombo-ronge, subsequently founded the offshoot "Side of the Lodge" called *Peter-hei*.

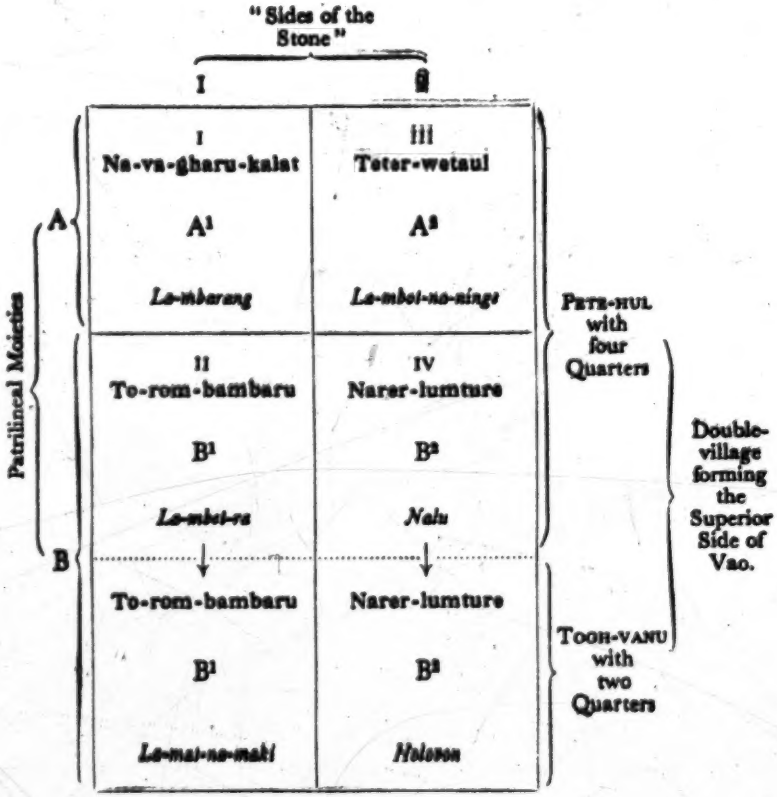

Fig. 11

Diagram illustrating the origin of the offshoot village of Togh-vanu, through the bisection of patrilineal moiety B, whereby half the descendants of To-rom-bambaru (B^1) and Narer-lumture (B^2) seceded to found the offshoot village, while the other half remained in the parent village of Pete-hul. Pete-hul and Togh-vanu together form the double-village occupying the Superior Side of Vao.

Thus, while all the descendants of Na-va-gharu-kalat, the eldest of the four founders, together with those of the third brother, Teter-wetaul, both belonging to patrilineal moiety A, remained at Pete-hul, some only of the descendants of the second and fourth brothers To-rom-

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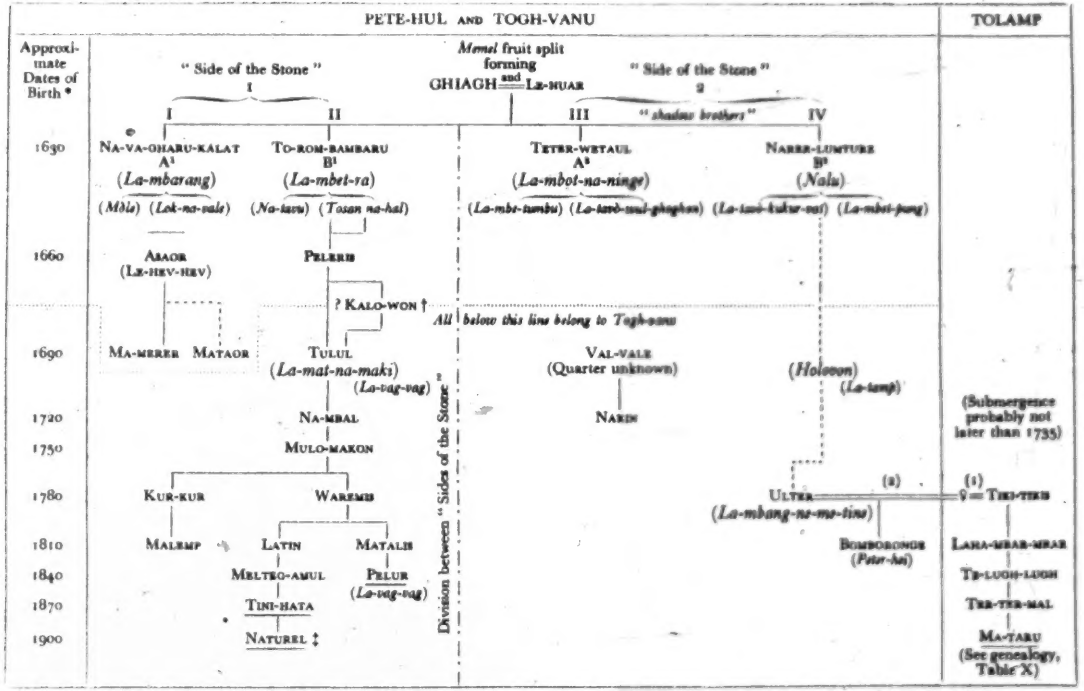
AUTHOR'S ACCOUNT



* For dating see p. 170. † There is some doubt as to the position of Kalo-won. ‡ Named after a well-known French planter. See also Appendix I, p. 730.

TABLE II

Genealogical Table illustrating the foundation of the 4 Quarters and 8 "Sides of the Lodge" in the village of PETE-HUL, and, below the dotted line, of the subsequent history of its offshoot village TOGH-VANU. In another column is a short genealogy of TOLAMP illustrating the events narrated in Chapter XXII. Names of those still living are underlined. Names of Quarters bracketed and in large italics. Names of "Sides of the Lodge" bracketed and in small italics.

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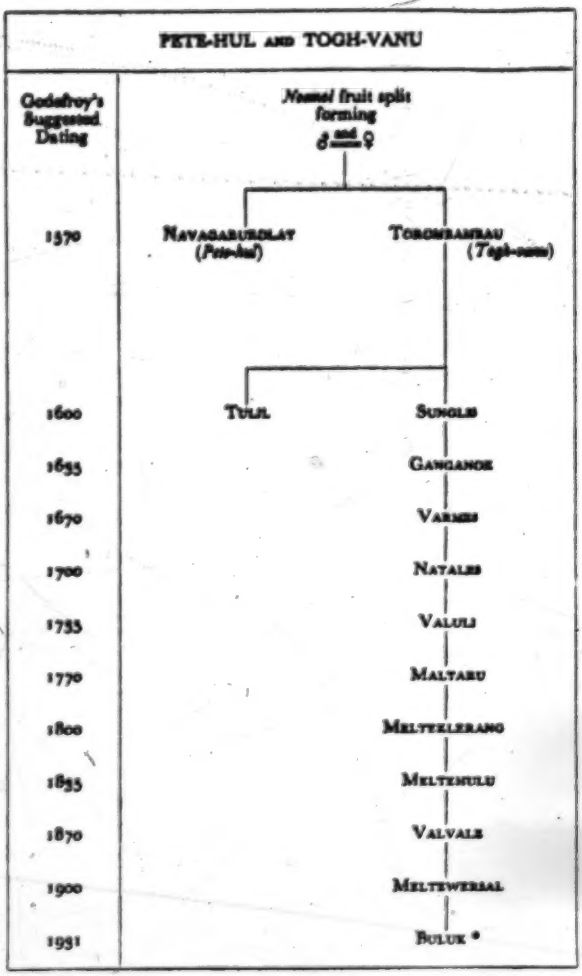

TABLE III

Godefroy's TOGH-VANU genealogy.†

* Buluk is the native pronunciation of the English "bullock," a popular name in the Small Islands.

† Godefroy, I, 1933, p. 52. The names are spelt very variously throughout his text, the spellings here given being the most common.

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bambaru and Narer-lumture, both of patrilineal moiety B, seceded to found the twin-village of Togh-vanu, while yet other descendants from these last two also remained behind in Pete-hul.

It is important also, from the point of view of kinship organisation, to note that To-rom-bambaru is himself now regarded as the founder of Togh-vanu, though in point of fact this village was not founded by him but by his grandson Tulul, belonging to the third generation.

Owing to the process of adoption,[1] whereby, for the sake of maintaining a state of equilibrium between all recognised sections of a community, children are constantly being transferred from a strong Lodge or Quarter to a weaker, it is clear that the village of Togh-vanu would have had no difficulty in establishing four Quarters after the model of Pete-hul, and of approximately equal strength, had this been socially permissible. It is impossible to conjecture what proportion of its inhabitants left to found Togh-vanu. They must, however, have been considerably less than half. It might at first sight appear that it was owing to this fact that they divided themselves at first into only two Quarters instead of four. The fact that they did not do so had, however, to do with the kinship system, and not with numbers, as will be explained in a subsequent chapter.[2] They are today, in fact, more numerous than the inhabitants of Pete-hul.[3] In spite of this, though a belated attempt was made to imitate the four Quarters of Pete-hul by the establishment of a third Quarter, by the sub-division of the second, or Inferior, of the original two Quarters, this process has never been completed, and the essential organisation is still into two Quarters instead of four.

The inhabitants of Togh-vanu themselves put down their "imperfect" organisation to the fact that their village was not founded directly by Ta-ghar. This statement should not be dismissed as pure fantasy, but should be taken on its face value as meaning that in fact some other influence was at work which prevented the normal reproduction of a previously accepted pattern. This was clearly not due only to the effect of Na-va-gharu-kalat's speech, but to a more fundamental aspect of the kinship structure discussed in the following chapters.

[1] See p. 187. [2] See pp. 153 ff. [3] See p. 746.

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doubt as to the essential correctness of this interpretation is, I think, dispelled by the name given to the seventh descending generation (SSSSSSS), who is called *yéng sun*, which Mr. Waley translates as "repeat grandson." This phrase agrees so precisely with the fact that, as we have seen, a 12-section system repeats itself after each sixth generation that, since Mr. Waley had made his translation without any knowledge of the facts now being presented, I wrote telling him of my interpretation and asking for more information. He replied, "The word *yéng* does indeed mean 'the same thing over again,' 'as you were' and the like. It is used on the Analects of Confucius when they are discussing whether to rebuild the State treasury on a new plan, or to 'keep it as it was before.' It is defined as 'same as at the start.'" [1]

3

FORMULATION OF THE EXISTING PATRILOCAL ORGANISATION ON VAO

TRANSITION TO OVERT PATRILINEAL DESCENT

I have mentioned this ancient Chinese system not only as providing a parallel with the system deduced from the kinship terminology on Vao, but for a second reason also, namely as evidence for the transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent. For at the present day but little remains of the matrilineal element in China, where descent is now reckoned almost exclusively on a patrilineal basis, though a relic of the matrilineal moieties is still found in the practice of recording the names of ancestors in the direct male line on tablets arranged in two columns, each column containing the names of alternating generations corresponding to the "lines" composed of alternate generations in the male line of descent caused by the matrilineal moieties on Vao.

The same process has been at work in North Ambrim, which, as Deacon points out, is in a "transition stage to patrilineal descent." [2] Just how this transformation from matrilineal to patrilineal trisections has taken place is not explained. Nor am I able to explain through direct evidence the similar process that appears to have taken place on

[1] The above brief reference represents only one aspect of this ancient system, of which some of the kinship terms show signs also of a division into 8 sections, from which the 12 sections have probably been derived owing to the usual bisection of inferior moieties. An analysis of these terms was made by the author some years ago but has not been published, and it was therefore with interest that his attention was called, after the above passage was already in print, to a work recently published by Marcel Granet entitled *Catégories Matrimoniales et Relations de Proximité dans la Chine Ancienne* (Annales Sociologiques, Series B, Paris, 1939), in which he also demonstrates the 8-section basis of this system while pointing out certain differences between it and the 8-section systems of Australia.

[2] Deacon, 4, p. 701.

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611 174 Vao. For, as seen in Chapter III, the existing social organisation in this island is now based not on matrilineal trisections but on patrilineal trisections represented by the three patrilocal double-villages. In this respect the organisation of Vao appears to bear a marked resemblance to that of North Ambrim, with certain additions giving rise to the bisection of the two double-villages.

FOUNDATION OF PETE-HUL–TOGH-VANU EXPRESSED IN TERMS OF KINSHIP

174 It is of interest therefore to note the development of the social organisation on Vao as seen in the stories of origin recorded on pages 81 ff. It will be remembered that the alleged "perfect" organisation of Pete-hul consisted of four Quarters said to be due to the direct action of Ta-ghar, while that of the rest of the island is "all in a muddle" owing to the intervention of "mere man." These four Quarters are said to have been founded by four brothers, of whom the most important were Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru who, in the light of the foregoing discussion, clearly represent the two patrilineal moieties A and B in a 4-section system, and at the same time belong to the same matrilineal moiety 1, while their two "shadow brothers" Teter-wetaul and Narer-lumture represent the opposite matrilineal moiety 2.[1] This pattern, already expressed in terms of the four Quarters in Fig. 10, may be expressed in terms of an original 4-section system, as shown in Fig. 37.

By the action of "mere man," however, patrilineal moiety B became split, so that half the descendants of To-rom-bambaru and his "shadow brother" Narer-lumture seceded to found the offshoot village of Togh-vanu. By this action the two patrilineal moieties developed into three patrilineal descent groups, two of which remained in the four Quarters of Pete-hul, while the third founded the two Quarters of Togh-vanu. It will be noticed that this gives precisely the same pattern as the 6-section system of Ambrim seen in Fig. 26. Using the kinship formula, the fundamental elements going to build up the social organisation of the Superior Side of Vao may therefore be provisionally expressed as in Fig. 38.

EXISTING MARRIAGE REGULATIONS

582 174 This formulation also agrees with the three regulations regarding marriage that I recorded, namely:

[1] It will be remembered also that these two pairs of brothers represent opposite "Sides of the Stone." For the relation between "Sides of the Stone" and matrilineal moieties see p. 168.

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(*a*) That a man may not marry his FSisD, a regulation which, as we have seen, is fundamental to all class systems having more than four sections.

(*b*) That in addition to the prohibition against marriage with any

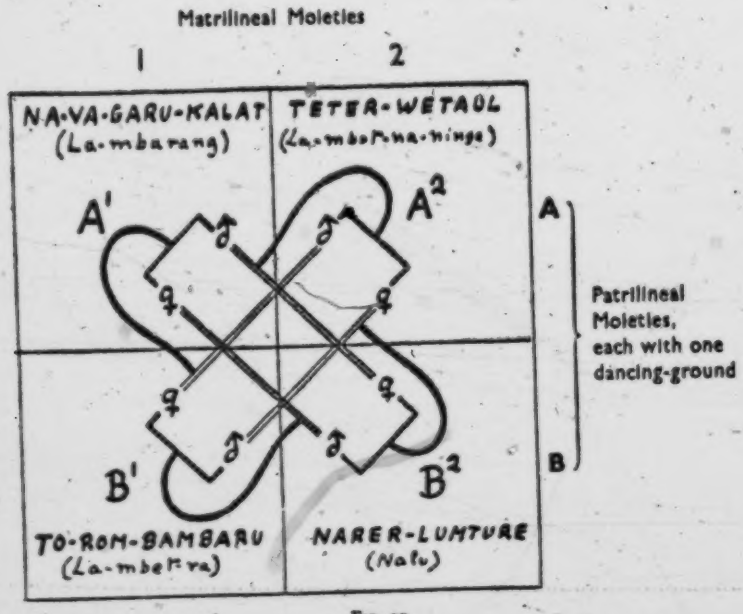

FIG. 37

Diagram showing the probable origin of the 4 Quarters of Pete-hul in terms of kinship. Each of the 4 brothers is here represented as belonging to one marriage section in a 4-section system. The names of the 4 Quarters are inserted below those of their founders. Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru represent the two patrilineal moities A, B, each with its own dancing-ground. Both these belong to matrilineal moiety 1, while their respective "shadow brothers," Teter-wetaul and Narer-lumture, belong to the opposite matrilineal moiety 2.

(*N.B.*—For NA-VA-GARU-KALAT read NA-VA-GHARU-KALAT.)

woman belonging to a man's own patrilocal double-village he is in addition forbidden to marry any woman belonging to his mother's, or his mother's mother's "Side of the Lodge" in any other village.[1] This

[1] It is said that if a man transgressed any of these rules either he or his wife would die. My informant Ma-taru told me that it was on account of the increasing modern laxity concerning them that everything had "gone wrong" and the people were dying out. He himself had been perfectly within his rights in marrying a woman of his mother's village, but not of her Lodge. But she died, and he saw that he must have done wrong in marrying a woman of the same village at all. So in selecting a second wife he sought out one "who could by no possibility be of the same blood as himself," and married a woman neither of whose parents belonged to Vao.

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not only confirms the existence of the three patrilineal descent groups A, B and C similar to those in Ambrim called "my own, my mother's and my mother's mother's," but suggests also a fact which I did

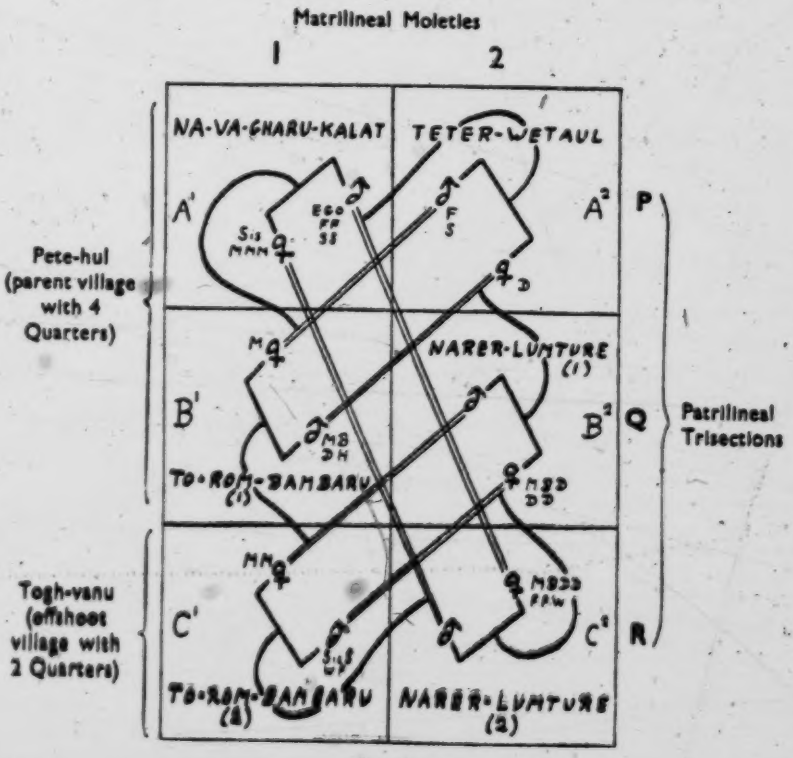

FIG. 98

Diagram illustrating in terms of kinship the probable nature of the split-up of the single-village of Pete-hul into the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu through the bisection of the inferior patrilineal moiety led by To-rom-bamberu and his "shadow brother" Narer-lumture. The kinship system thus indicated is a 6-section system (Patrilineal Type) similar to that of North Ambrim. This diagram is a purely theoretical one, not applicable to the social organisation as it exists today since this double-village is now an exogamous unit, and depends for its completion on the inclusion of the patrilineal moieties seen in Figs. 99 and 46. The letters P, Q, R are added alongside those of the three patrilineal trisections A, B, C for comparison with those figures.

not record during my enquiries into the organisation of the Lodges, namely that while descent in the Quarter-Lodges is patrilineal the division into two "Sides of the Lodge" may well represent the

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division into the two matrilineal moieties existing within the Quarter-Lodge.[1]

(c) That a man sometimes marries his deceased father's father's widow, since EGO and his FF belong to the same marriage section.

12-SECTION SYSTEM WITH OVERT PATRILINEAL DESCENT

While Fig. 38 may be taken to indicate the basic factors leading to the social organisation of the Superior Side of Vao, it must not, however, be taken as expressing the kinship system existing in it today, since, as has already been shown, this Side of the Island does not stand alone, but forms part of a larger organisation including the whole island. For, while this Side of the Island is in fact composed of three main patrilineal descent groups represented respectively by the descendants of Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru forming the population of Pete-hul, and of those split-off descendants of To-rom-bambaru who founded the offshoot village of Togh-vanu, these three descent groups do not now intermarry, but form one exogamous whole.

If we now turn our attention to the organisation of the entire island, we find once more the same pattern of culture in the division into two Sides of the Island, one of which has split, thus forming three patrilineal descent groups represented by the three double-villages, each of which is divided into two single-villages (see Fig. 4). The difference between the two patterns is that in this case the three patrilineal descent groups represented by the three patrilocal double-villages are exogamous.

Combined with the two matrilineal moieties, this pattern results once more in a 12-section system similar to that illustrated in Figs. 33, 34 and 35 in that it is based on four sections consisting of matrilineal moieties 1 and 2 and patrilineal moieties A and B, but differing from it in that the trisections are patrilineal, thus forming six patrilineal descent groups which actually exist in the form of the six patrilocal villages, in place of the earlier six matrilineal descent groups deduced from the terminology of kinship.

Fig. 39 represents this patrilocal system in terms of kinship, and at the same time indicates the presumed relative functions of the three double-villages. It will be seen that the form of marriage it indicates is that of a man with a woman who in the direct female line of descent is his MMMBDDD, or third cross-cousin, and in the direct male line is his FFSisSD, or second cross-cousin. This is of interest in that the FFSisSD is (through the equivalence of the FSisH with the MB) also the FMBSD, who is in fact the prescribed bride in the existing system of Pornowol in South Raga, where, according to Tattevin, a man "takes his wife from his father's mother's [patrilineal] clan," the bride being the daughter of

[1] For further discussion of this point, see p. 168.

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all his classificatory brothers and sisters (with one exception)[1] show that they all married members of the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu in which the remnants of his clan have now taken refuge.[2]

4

HISTORICAL SURVEY

RELATIVE FUNCTIONS OF MYTH AND HISTORY

Having reached this approximate formulation of the Vao system, I propose now to make a final examination of the story of origin. For, while the co-existence of the trisections with the fundamental 4-section element in the system is clear, it is to be noted that no hint of these trisections is given in the creation myth dealing with the split *memel* fruit caused by the direct action of Ta-ghar.

In this respect the Vao myth resembles two very interesting examples recorded by Suas from the village of Logueguea on Oba. These myths also attribute the creation to Takaro, who is equivalent to the Vao Taghar. The method is different, namely by means of modelling human figures with clay, but the import is the same, since the first myth accounts for the creation of the two matrilineal moieties, and the second for the creation of four groups, named after the four colours black, red, yellow and white, each of which is allotted to a specific area of land.[3]

The omission of any mention of trisections in all these cases expresses an important difference between myth and history, if we take myth as giving expression to those factors that are so taken for granted that there is no need to explain them, and historical accounts as being designed to emphasise change. Thus the Vao myth of the *memel* fruit splitting into two and so forming the two primary matrilineal moieties needs no circumstantial corroboration, since the facts referred to are, in the opinion of the natives, so basic as to need no further explanation.

What do need explanation from the Vao native's point of view are the further developments. First among these is the appearance of the overt patrilineal moieties represented respectively by their alleged founders, the two brothers Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru. The next

[1] The one exception is the marriage of Le-ragh-ragh with Marsung-parav of the village of Pwelut on Wala. Several others occur in the succeeding generation.

[2] It will be noted, however, that in this case they all marry members of the same double-village and not, as suggested from Fig. 39, that alternate generations marry into different double-villages.

[3] Suas, pp. 45-8. The two matrilineal moieties are called respectively *Takaro* and *Mwragbuto*, the latter corresponding to the male Guardian Ghost *Supue* on Raga and to *Le-hev-hev* on Vao. A third myth (pp. 48-52) deals with the creation of an unclothed people whose social divisions are not specified.

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617 174 figures to appear in the story are the two "shadow brothers," Teter-wetaul and Narer-lumture, who receive no further comment, their appearance being quite automatic as representing the basic matrilineal moieties still functioning within the new overtly patrilocal organisation. These four brothers together are the founders of the four Quarters of Pete-hul.

The next phase which, in the native view, requires explanation is the further development of the system into an asymmetrical one owing to the bisection of the inferior patrilineal moiety. It is this that, as we have seen, the natives ascribe to the action of "mere man," and therefore the subject of what in his view are definite historical accounts. It is for this reason that the mythical non-circumstantial account of the foundation of the four Quarters is immediately followed by alleged historical accounts relating with some violence the split-up of the original village of Pete-hul into two villages, leaving Pete-hul with four Quarters and Togh-vanu with only two.

It is furthermore important to note that, though To-rŏm-bambaru, the second brother, is now regarded as the ancestor of the inhabitants of the offshoot village Togh-vanu, the actual founder was not he, nor yet his son Peleris, but his son's son Tulul.[1] In other words, whatever the actual mechanism by which this change was brought about, it took three generations to accomplish, these being clearly correlated with the tri-sectional system which takes three generations to fulfil its cycle.[2]

INTRODUCTION OF PATRILOCAL SYSTEM. SIMILAR ORIGIN OF MATANAVAT IN NORTH-EAST MALEKULA

One question that arises from the very circumstantial accounts of this movement, based as they are on the substantially accurate genealogies already given, is to what extent the details are to be taken as historical truths. It is on the one hand quite clear from the comparative evidence already cited that neither the 4-section element nor the trisections came into being as isolated phenomena on Vao. On the other hand, it is evident from genealogies preserved by neighbouring peoples not only in the Small Islands but also in Santo,[3] that considerable movements of peoples occurred at about the time at which the Vao genealogies begin. Since no two peoples have exactly the same kinship system, it is clear that whenever contact is made, their fusion must lead to a violation of the kinship systems of both. Violations of this kind being among the most frequent causes of warfare in Melanesia, it would be expected that fighting of some kind would ensue. This is in fact what the native account

[1] See p. 91. [2] See also p. 160, footnote 1.
[3] Verbal communication from Mr. T. H. Harrisson.

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claims to have been the case, for it is stated that the fighting accompanying the foundation of the new régime was so bitter that the people of Vao now put down all warfare to this occurrence.

I suggest, therefore, that the reason for this violent social upheaval was the impact between two at first sight incompatible systems of kinship, of which that containing the matrilineal trisections indicated in the kinship terminology was the indigenous one. What the immigrant system consisted of is not easy to say, except that it was almost certainly responsible for the introduction of the existing patrilocal organisation, and probably also for the change over from matrilineal to patrilineal trisections corresponding to the similar change that has occurred in North Ambrim. It may even be that it was these immigrants who introduced the current version of the *memel*-fruit myth. It will be remembered that the inhabitants of Norohure on the Inferior Side of Vao, whom I suppose to represent an earlier matrilineal stratum of the population, "do not know the story of the *memel* fruit." [1] It is thus worth noting that a similar myth told in Matanavat on the North Malekulan coast not far from Vao is in fact definitely attributed to an immigrant people. Thus Harrisson records how this village is divided into three parts, of which two represent two patrilineal moieties but the third part, called Botnia, once populous but no longer so, is somewhat apart. This third section of the population is said to be the oldest, and its members are looked down on by the other inhabitants of the village as "rubbish people," an expression used all over North Malekula to designate those who do such unpatrilineal things as eating sows, and who clearly represent an older matrilineal stock. Thus, "Botnia has no prestige and few rites. There are no Botnia stories. It is simply said of it: that it was always there . . . that there were men there when the first men came! The people were small; they had no canoes, only rafts." The two other parts of the village, however, were formed of the now dominant immigrants who trace their descent from "a succulent fruit" which Harrisson refers to as a rose-apple, and therefore to its descendants as the "rose-apple" people.[2]

The "rose-apple" story is the same in all essentials as the *memel*-fruit myth on Vao, and there is no doubt that the two myths are the same. Moreover, its distribution throughout Santo, Malo, North Malekula, the Small Islands and Epi [3] is almost identical with the area already mentioned in which the genealogies point to movements of people at about the time of Na-va-gharu-kalat. The foundation story following the Matanavat version of the myth tells of a "rose-apple" man named Toratora who first had a son who disobeyed and insulted him, thus following the matrilineal pattern of a youth who owes no allegiance to his father. The old man then married a Botnia woman who bore two sons, and

[1] See p. 80.
[2] Harrisson, 1, p. 114.
[3] Harrisson, 2, pp. 20-1.

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these sons founded the two patrilocal divisions of the existing village, of which they became the "chiefs." The account ends with a statement that "it is by the marriage of Tora-tora's sons with Botnia women that Matanavat has grown."

While this story differs in detail from that told on Vao, its essential elements are the same. The correspondence becomes closer still when it is found that the patrilocal division founded by the second son is called *Lambeteram*,[1] which is evidently the same name as that of the *La-mbet-ra* Quarter founded by the second brother To-rom-bambaru on Vao. There is further a close similarity between the organisation of the two places, since each of the two patrilocal moieties in Matanavat is yet further divided into six lodges, making a total of twelve lodges, thus forming a cultural pattern similar to that of the twelve "Sides of the Lodge" on the Superior Side of Vao, and to the twelve "Sides of the Stone" on the whole island.

It is incidentally of interest to note that this organisation is reflected on Matanavat in the custom that on certain occasions six men sound the gongs [2] and that the formula for wind magic is repeated six times.[3] On the other hand, the 4-fold element is also still found there in the case of magic performed for the cure of sickness, during which the clairvoyant appeals to his four spirits: Tokon and Tapi, who are male, and Lelerits and Lesiri who are female. It is said that "such spirits always go in fours." [4] Each of the twelve lodges has, moreover, its own form of magic and "its own month in the year," [5] which throws an interesting sidelight on one of the factors possibly leading to the origin of the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

Leaving these suggestive details on one side, however, and returning to the kinship problem, the point to which I wish to call attention is that in Matanavat, as in Vao, no mention is made in the mythology of the incoming people of the trisections that form an essential element in the existing organisation. From this it would appear that these trisections did not form part of the immigrant culture, but, as we have seen from the kinship terminology, certainly did form part of that of the indigenous population following a system of matrilineal descent, to which the dominant incoming patrilocal element had to adjust itself, in each place doubtless in a slightly different way.

[1] This word apparently means "(Lodge) of the eldest son" (Vao *beta-ram*, see p. 181), and in fact should have belonged to the eldest son. But their father had told both sons to bring him yams of a particular kind. The elder brought the wrong kind, but the younger brought the kind the father had asked for, and so became chief of the Superior patrilocal moiety.

[2] Harrisson, 2, p. 31.

[3] Ibid. p. 50.

[4] Ibid. p. 56. For the connexion between magic and the 4-section system of kinship, see pp. 646 ff.

[5] Ibid. p. 23.

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PROBABLE COURSE OF EVENTS ON VAO

It would appear from the native account on Vao that a party of these immigrants, under the combined leadership of the two brothers Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru, arrived by sea and settled themselves down on what is now the Superior Side of the Island, founding the single-village of Pete-hul, or else reorganising a previously existing village. The beach on which they landed, being the best on the island, must of course have been in constant use by the indigenous population.[1]

Na-va-gharu-kalat's first act was one of aggressive self-assertion, on behalf of all the immigrants, telling them to "keep good watch on the beach Kowu, and, if any stranger come ashore, to kill him and bring him to me to cut up,"[2] evidently for the whole community to eat. This speech, to which his younger brother, representing the second patrilineal moiety, wholeheartedly assented, is said to have been the starting-point from which all subsequent fighting took its origin.

This does not mean, of course, that there had been no fighting before, but that Na-va-gharu-kalat now assumed the headship of Pete-hul, and in virtue of this fact claimed the right of disposing of strangers landing on its beach in accordance with the general New Hebridean practice mentioned later with regard to a similar fate awaiting strangers landing on Raga.[3]

Doubtless, many former friends of the indigenous population would in this way become treated by the immigrants as strangers. The scene of the original conflict leading to the formation of the new patrilocal system was thus localised to begin with in the territory belonging to what is now the double-village forming the Superior Side of the Island.[4]

This social revolution, lasting three generations, must automatically have affected the rest of the island, and we are probably justified, therefore, in assuming that an analogous process was responsible for the formation of the remaining two double-villages on the Inferior Side of the Island.

AUTOMATIC NATURE OF CHANGES. FUNCTION OF "SIDES"

This brings us back once more to the automatic nature of many such changes. In this way it is to be noted that, while historical data are given for changes introduced from outside such as the arrival of immigrants and

[1] Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 54) expresses the opinion that the inhabitants of Pete-hul-Togh-vanu were the earliest on the island. This opinion appears to be based on the shortness of the genealogies of the remaining villages. This argument cuts both ways, as the interest in genealogies was probably introduced by them and may therefore not have been indigenous.

[2] See p. 90.

[3] See p. 601.

[4] For the exclusive possession of a myth corresponding to the *memel*-fruit myth in Vao by one of six patrilineal clans in South Raga that has not spread to the remaining clans, see p. 140.

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the consequent disruption of an existing social order, the development of the new pattern of culture resulting from this impetus proceeds as if from itself according to the operation of inevitable laws. Thus, while the new overt elements such as the split-up of one village into two is clearly described, and the two elements (i.e. villages) are named, subsequent adjustments occur so automatically that no reason for them is given, and the resulting divisions are not even named.

This is the case with all those sub-divisions which are known as *tosan*, which I have translated as "Sides," a fact emphasised by the shading in Fig. 4 in Chapter III on the overt organisation of the island. Thus, no account whatever is given as to the formation of the "Sides of the Island," nor yet of the "Sides of the Stone" or "Sides of the Lodge." This might be considered to be due to the comparative paucity of historical data from Vao. The same is, however, true of Atchin, from which island I recorded a great deal of historical material, but where in no single case was I furnished with an explanation of a division into the corresponding unnamed "Sides," which in each case appeared to proceed quite automatically. A good illustration from Vao is seen in a recent incident recorded on page 451 regarding the two northern Quarter-Lodges of Pete-hul, from each of which one "Side of the Lodge" owing to a quarrel departed to the mainland and stayed there, whereon the remaining "Side of the Lodge" promptly divided, without further ado, into two.

I have already suggested (p. 156) that the "Sides of the Lodge" may well represent matrilineal divisions consisting of alternate generations in the male line within a given Quarter. The same may also be true in some way of the "Sides of the Stone," which, though appearing at first sight as patrilineal groups, also fulfil in the Maki an alternating function that I failed at the time of my visit fully to understand. This supposition is supported by the fact that while the first two brothers in the foundation story, Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru, belong to different patrilineal moieties, they both belong to the same "Side of the Stone," the other "Side of the Stone" being represented by the third and fourth brothers Teter-wetaul and Narer-lumture, who in the formulation of the kinship system are seen to belong to matrilineal moiety 2 while the first two brothers belong to matrilineal moiety 1 (see Figs. 37 to 39 and footnote on p. 154). Thus at that period of Vao history, if not at present, the term "Side of the Stone" appears to have been equivalent to "matrilineal moiety." The word "Side" has in this case also a topographical significance, at least it has so in Atchin, where the ten shrines set up in line on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground are divided into two groups set end to end, those belonging to one "Side of the Stone" being to the right and those belonging to the other to the left. This arrangement recalls the two "sides of the house" representing the matrilineal moieties in the Banks Islands. There is moreover a certain resemblance between

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the first syllable of the North Ambrim word *batutun*, meaning "matrilineal moiety," and the word *vatu* in the phrase *tosan na-vatu*, meaning "Side of the Stone." However this may be, the cumulative evidence points strongly to the presumption that these "Sides" all at one time represented matrilineal moieties or sub-divisions of such, even if they do not do so today, and that it is this fact that accounts for the automatic appearance of the divisions they represent. If this is so, then the same must apply to the "Sides of the Island." In this case there is no question of these being matrilineal now, since they represent very definitely the two main patrilineal divisions into which each Small Island is divided. Nevertheless, the attitude of almost permanent hostility and suspicion between these two "Sides" despite their close interrelatedness corresponds so very closely with that reigning between the two matrilineal moieties throughout the Banks Islands and Northern New Hebrides that it is to my mind more than probable that they also were in the first place matrilineal divisions, and that their present patrilocal character is yet another result of the social revolution due to the incursion of the patrilineal immigrants under the leadership of Na-va-gharu-kalat.

CONCLUSION

CHANGING NATURE OF ISLAND SYSTEMS

I have now sketched, from a combined study of the kinship terminology, the overt social organisation, the mythology and oral tradition of the natives, the probable course of development of the kinship system of Vao. It will be the task of future field-work to test the results. The system covers a larger area than the single island of Vao, since marriages also occur with the inhabitants of Atchin, Wala and other Small Islands, as well as with those of the mainland of Malekula, all of whom at one time apparently formed part of the same system, though at the time of my visit all these were already in course of disruption and Vao only retained the chief characteristics of a class system. There are thus in these remaining Small Islands many cases of anomalous marriages, leading to frequent disagreement and sometimes to open hostility. These will be studied more closely in future volumes dealing with the culture of Atchin, where the system is already breaking up owing to new influences encroaching from the south.

Among a seafaring population such as that of these islands, no system can be entirely self-contained. The ever-changing nature of these island systems as compared with the comparative stability of those in land-bound Australia is seen from the fact that if the above analysis is even approximately correct, the patrilocal kinship system now existing on Vao began to take on its present form only nine generations ago, and that it took three

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178 generations for the system to become welded into a compact whole. This system has remained comparatively stable for some six generations at most. Even apart from the coming of the White Man, the system would not have lasted much longer, as it would have been bound to succumb sooner or later to the non-class patrilineal influence that is encroaching from the south.

APPROXIMATE DATING

● 174 582 With regard to the question of dates, nowadays, owing to the practice of the older men marrying more than one wife, the age at which a young man can marry is rarely under 20, more usually later. Though the rate of infant mortality is high, there is nevertheless evidence in the genealogies to show that families were large. The fact therefore that the population, so far as we know, before the arrival of the White Man was fairly stable, shows how great were the ravages wrought by periodic famines due chiefly to hurricanes, and to a less extent probably to war. We shall therefore not be far wrong if we assume a generation to cover about 30 years, which is the highest of the two figures usually used in reckoning dates in Polynesia.

On this computation, and assuming the boy Naturel (see Table II) to have been born about the year 1900, his first ancestor, To-rom-bambaru, nine [1] generations back, would have been born about the year 1630.[2] At the time of the foundation of Pete-hul, To-rom-bambaru and his elder brother Na-va-gharu-kalat were men in authority. If, therefore, we take their ages to have been then about 50, we arrive at the year 1680 as the approximate date at which the foundation took place.[3]

The genealogies which I recorded on Atchin go back considerably further, the youngest boy in the elder branch of the double-village of Ruruar on the Superior Side of Atchin being himself the 17th in the direct male line of descent from Iwas, the founder of that village.[4] This

[1] Omitting Kalo-won, whose place in the genealogy is doubtful. If he was in the direct line of ancestry, this and the following dates would have to be decreased by 30 years.

[2] Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 52) allows 30 to 35 years for a generation (three generations to a century), and has recorded one extra generation, on which basis he calculates that To-rom-bambaru would have been born about the year 1570.

[3] The only other record of extensive genealogies in Melanesia is that of the chiefly house of Sa'a, first recorded by Codrington (3, pp. 50 ff.) and subsequently by Ivens (1, Chap. V). This house was founded twelve generations ago, and it is interesting that the same historical configuration exists there as in Vao, for Codrington records that the founders were four brothers, whereas Ivens points out that the two younger "brothers" were not brothers, but two fighting men belonging to their retinue (p. 113). These two thus seem to correspond with the two "shadow brothers" of Vao tradition. Ivens records (pp. 110-11) one genealogy going back thirty-nine generations. It is to be noted that, just as the Vao system is an intrusive overtly patrilineal one imposed on a previous matrilineal organisation, so also the people of Sa'a, together with their neighbours on Malo, represent an immigrant patrilineal folk in an otherwise matrilineal archipelago.

[4] For details see future volume. Including the present generation and the maternal uncles of Iwas, mentioned below, the total number of generations included in the Ruruar genealogies is 19.

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takes us back, on the same reckoning, to the year 1390 as the date of Iwas's birth, and 1440 of his ripe manhood. Iwas was not only the founder of the village but also the introducer of patrilineal descent, there being no record of his father, but only of his two maternal uncles, Mal-mal-mari and Mal-mal-oba, who are the earliest figures in the oral accounts dealing with the history of Atchin. It was these two who, prompted by their mother, slew the aboriginal cannibal ogre Ias whose name is philologically equivalent to Ghiagh, that of the male partner in the Vao creation myth, and to the South Raga *ias* already mentioned.[1]

It was not till five generations after Iwas, that is to say (taking the dates of their birth) in about 1540, that four brothers appear in the genealogies of Atchin, corresponding with the four brothers in the creation story on Vao, and so antedating these by about 90 years according to my reckoning or 30 by Godefroy's calculations.

Thus, taking into account the slow northward movement of culture in the Small Islands, the genealogical records of Vao and Atchin tally, with the exception that on Atchin they go yet further back to some yet earlier social revolution regarding which the Vao records are silent.

MYTHOLOGICAL EPITAPH ON THE DECAY OF MATRILINEAL DESCENT

No better way could be found of summing up the encroaching patrilineal influence and its adverse effect on the status of women than to quote the following tale told of a Togh-vanu woman, clearly a variant of the Pete-hul creation myth.

It will be remembered that in the creation myth the *memel* fruit fell on to the buttress-root of a *gha-tambol* tree, splitting in half. The two halves became a man and woman who at first slept, unknown to one another, in adjacent compartments formed by the tree's roots, but subsequently married and produced four sons, the founders of the four Quarters of Pete-hul.

According to this variant, there was a Togh-vanu woman who was so covered with sores that no one could bear to look at her. So they decided to throw her away. They bound her with coils of the *memel* creeper to a banana stalk to act as a float, and threw her into the sea. The wind blew her northwards towards Santo, till at last she came ashore on an island called Aes, which lies off the Santo coast. As she had no house, she lived in one of the compartments made by two buttress-roots of a *gha-tambol* tree. The *memel* creeper with which she had been bound "grew up" and entered her womb, so that when she tried to take it out, she bled. After a time she conceived, and bore a girl. This girl bore a son, who became the ancestor of all the people of Aes.

In this tale we no longer hear of the *memel* fruit splitting into two,

[1] See p. 17.

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174 forming both man and woman, but of the creeper only, which is exclu-
113 sively male, and itself ruptures the woman's hymen. Nothing could describe better the inroads made on the old matrilineal system by the encroaching patrilineal influence, though there is still a strong reminiscence of matrilineal descent shown by the fact that the offspring of the union is a girl. However, the patrilineal influence prevails in that it is her son who is the ancestor of all the people of Aes.[1] The creeper is also used to bind the woman, clearly a metaphorical allusion to the inferior status of women in the overtly patrilineal communities of Malekula when compared with their position of far greater equality in the matrilineal communities further north. Sores are a punishment for incest. The whole story plainly refers to the conflict of kinship systems, and is a fitting epitaph on the progressive decay of the principle of matrilineal descent.[2]

[1] It would be interesting to know what type of organisation exists on Aes. The island referred to is probably Aise, another name for the island of Aore, which lies between Malo and Santo.

[2] Other versions of the same myth have been recorded from various places. One of these from South Raga has already been mentioned on p. 140.

Godefroy (1, 1933, pp. 45-8) mentions another non-Malekulan version according to which the *memel* fruit brought new life to an old grandmother.

Suas (1911, p. 907) records yet another version from Olal in North Ambrim, according to which Bugliam, the god of darkness, persuades the woman to eat the fruit.

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has been recorded; [1] nor is there any record of a sham fight in the detailed accounts given by Deacon of birth rites in the still more predominately patrilineal districts of South-West and North-West Malekula.[2]

(h) Conclusion regarding Vao.

There is thus little doubt that the institution of the sham fight over the first-born on Vao, however elaborate it may have become, and in spite of its present use as a dedication rite, had its origin not in the desire to create a warrior, but in the rising power of patrilineal descent still ritually resented by the representatives of the old matriarchal system whom the father still has to indemnify with gifts. Like all rites in the Small Islands, however, it has been transformed by the natives' genius for the creation of dramatic situations into an occasion for fun and display.

ADOPTION

The practice of adoption is very widespread in the New Hebrides and Banks Islands, where in some districts it is carried out in such an extreme form that parents are often powerless to prevent their own new-born child from being adopted at birth even against their own will. No adequate explanation for this to us extraordinary custom has so far been put forward. Rivers ingeniously supposes a previous state of sexual communism among the matrilineal peoples of this area leading to community of children, coupled with the later immigration of a patrilineal people arriving by sea without womenkind and therefore having to assert their right to their own children by wholesale adoption.[3] This theory contains a number of assumptions for which no evidence exists. There is no evidence for the existence of sexual communism nor yet for any lack of women among the patrilineal immigrants, and still less for the lack of "natural" ties between parents and children which he admits that such a theory implies. There is, however, a certain "community" of children in the sense expressed among all primitive peoples by the classificatory system of kinship, namely that the strength of the immediate family tie is modified in a way that does not happen with us by the strong bonds existing between members of the same clan. These bonds vary in strength inversely in proportion to the size of the clan, and in small communities such as those of the New Hebrides are very strong indeed. In this respect Rivers is right in assuming a certain "community" of children. He is right also with regard to the comparatively recent introduction of patrilineal influence. There is no need, however, to seek further and largely hypothetical explanations, for what he does not perceive is that the whole practice of adoption in the extreme form in which it occurs in these islands

[1] Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 400.
[2] Deacon, 4, Chapter IX.
[3] Rivers, 1, vol. II, pp. 136-40, 400-3.

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196 184 members of the sacrificing "line" achieve re-birth twice during a single performance of this double rite. Then, after a period of recuperation, the members of the opposite "line" become the sacrificers and are themselves similarly twice re-born, after which the first "line" once more assumes the sacrificial rôle, and the two "lines" continue to alternate in this way, each being re-born twice during its period of office.

A fifth point of similarity is that, throughout the Small Islands, the monument on which the final sacrifice at the end of the second part of the rite is performed is a stone-platform.

The monuments at which sacrifice is made at the end of the first part of the rite, however, differ. In what I have referred to as the dolmen-Maki, as performed in the Superior double-village on Vao, this monument consists of a single large dolmen. In the new type of monolith-Maki which was introduced into the Small Islands from the mainland some eight generations ago, and which, with certain modifications, is now firmly established on Wala and Atchin, the single large dolmen has been replaced by ten shrines, each of which is a composite monument the stonework of which consists of a tall monolith coupled with a diminutive dolmen. In all cases the monument is combined with a wooden image representing the ghosts of the alternate officiating generations of the male ancestors of the officiating "line" of Maki-men, in other words, all those of the same kinship section who have previously performed the rite.

Stone monuments correspond to beliefs regarding the Journey of the Dead.

196 184 174 We have, in the chapter on mythology,[1] seen how these ancestral ghosts are constellated in the figure of the Guardian Ghost. This is in turn closely bound up with the symbolic connexion existing between the monuments just mentioned, together with the ritual associated with them, and the beliefs concerning the Journey of the Dead. For, looked at from this point of view, the two parts of the Maki, as performed now on Vao and till recently on Wala and Atchin, in fact correspond with the two superimposed layers of belief concerning this journey as held in the various islands. Thus, just as all islands agree in the belief of an ultimate home of the dead high up on a volcano, so all islands agree in erecting a stone-platform and lighting a fire on it as the culminating act in the second part of the rite. The differences in belief, however, occur in the position accorded to the Guardian Ghost met with on the way. In the Vao version of the Journey of the Dead, the first half of which represents the older story, the Guardian Ghost is met with at the entrance to the Cave of the Dead. The monument erected for the first part of the rite on Vao is therefore a dolmen, which

[1] See p. 225.

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corresponds to the cave. In the later versions of the story current on Atchin and Wala, however, the Guardian Ghost is said to be met with, not at the entrance to the cave, which in this version is empty, but on the reef at Bong-na-un,[1] and is at the same time said to be the grandmother of ten legendary brothers. In those islands, therefore, the monument erected for the first part of the rite has been altered so as to consist of ten shrines, in which the chief monument is a monolith combined with wooden image representing, from one point of view, the Guardian Ghost in its collective aspect, with the dolmen reduced to the smallest possible proportions and the ten sons represented by a division of the village into ten families, each of which is responsible for the erection of one shrine.

Of these two parts of the Maki, the first, characterised by the dolmen, is the older and, according to the natives' own records, was formerly practised also throughout the Small Islands at least as far south as Wala.[2]

Yet earlier type of rite in which the sole stone monument was a dolmen, similar to that now performed on Malo.

Thus, the natives affirm that at one time the dolmen was the only stone monument erected, and that in those days the rite was similar to that practised at the present time in the matrilineal island of Malo immediately to the north. In Vao this early type of rite is called *Ramben*,[3] a word probably connected with the Malo *rombu* used for the men's house which is intimately bound up with the rite as performed in that island and corresponds roughly to the Vao *ghamal*. All that is known, or that I have been able to record about the ritual at this early period, is that during the culminating rite ten re-entrant-tuskers were tied to the dolmen and there sacrificed just as, according to the Vao natives, is still the case on Malo. Owing to the sacrifice of these ten tuskers this ancient form of the rite is now referred to on Vao as Maki Hangawul.[4] *Hangawul* means "ten," referring to the ten re-entrant-tuskers (circle-tuskers are said to have been unknown at that time), and is thus purely descriptive. The word Maki, however, is in this case almost certainly an anachronism based on the modern use of this word to describe the whole rite, thereby supplanting the more ancient word *Sumbe* still used for the whole rite on Malo, but now restricted on Vao to describe the table-stone of the dolmen which is called *vet simbe-simbe*, *vet* meaning "stone" and *simbe* corresponding to the Malo *Sumbe*, both words, *simbe* and *Sumbe*, being variants of *Supwe* or *Sukwe*, of which, as mentioned elsewhere, the root is the Indonesian *sémba*, "to worship or honour." [5]

[1] See Layard, 4, pp. 122, 125.
[2] My records do not extend further south.
[3] This word is still used for the first part of the double rite for which a large dolmen is set up.
[4] Compare the Warsangul in South Raga (see p. 695).
[5] See p. 693.

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Three stages of development correspond with successive stages of belief concerning the Journey of the Dead.

We can thus trace, in the Small Islands, three main stages in the development of the rite as judged from the stone monuments used:

Name by which I refer to the whole Double Rite	Where now performed	Chief Stone Monument used in First Part	Chief Stone Monument used in Second Part
1. (Referred to on Vao as Maki Hangawul)	Formerly in all Small Islands, now on Malo	Single large dolmen	(No second part)
2. Dolmen-Maki	Superior Side of Vao	Single large dolmen	Stone-platform
3. Monolith-Maki	Wala, Atchin; now being adopted on Inferior Side of Vao	Ten shrines, each with large monolith and small dolmen	" Stone-platform

Table IV

These three successive types correspond with the three stages in the development of beliefs concerning the Journey of the Dead from the Small Islands that have been described elsewhere,[1] namely:

	Position of Guardian Ghost	Home of the Dead
(1)	At entrance to Cave.	(In Cave).
(2)	At entrance to Cave.	On Volcano.
(3)	Alone on reef, though the cave is retained as an unimportant element in the story.[2]	On Volcano.

Of these three stages of development, both of the Maki rite and of the Journey of the Dead, the first is associated, through Malo, with what I refer to below as the central group of islands, in which the dolmen is the central sacrificial monument and the belief in a home of the dead on a volcano is absent.[3] The type of public graded institution which this represents is now obsolete, so far as the Small Islands are concerned. The third stage is associated, on the contrary, with the mainland of Malekula, whence the whole of the monolith-Maki is said to have come,

[1] Layard, 4, p. 140.
[2] The ten shrines correspond with the ten sons the Guardian Ghost is said to have, according to this late version.
[3] See pp. 691 ff., 713, and Distribution Map X.

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and where (at least in the north) the volcano is the goal to be sought by those of high rank after death. The second, or dolmen-Maki as performed on Vao, combines parts of both elements.

Doubling of the rite due also to beliefs concerning the Journey of the Dead expressed elsewhere in a division into higher and lower ranks.

This existing division into two main layers of culture also almost certainly explains the doubling of the rite. Indications exist that a similar doubling takes place in the rite in certain other districts, both in the ritual of some of the higher ranks and in a division of the ranks themselves into groups.[1] In Seniang, as both Deacon and I have independently shown, the ranks are divided into an even greater number of groups. In this case the multiplication of groups is due to the convergence of a number of culture-complexes, each of which has its own version of the Journey of the Dead. In other districts where there are only two groups of ranks the problem is simpler. With regard to the doubling of the rite in the Small Islands, a comparison with two neighbouring cultures will help to show what it means. The first lies in a consideration of the names given to the two parts of the rite, particularly in Atchin. Thus, in all the Small Islands, while the word Maki in its extended sense covers both parts of the rite, in its more restricted sense it is applied only to the second, which is the most important part, and in which the only sacrificial objects are tusked boars. The first part, on the other hand, is known by a variety of names, of which that used in Vao is Ramben[2] and that used in Atchin is Na-tò. Now the word *Na-tò* means "fowl," and refers to the fact that in this part of the rite, both in Atchin and in Vao, while the chief officiants sacrifice tusked boars, the rank and file of Maki-men sacrifice fowls. If we now turn to an examination of the ranks in East Oba we find that there are here only four, of which the lowest is Toa, meaning "fowl." "A boy has a fowl, *toa*, given him to start in life, and a fowl buys him his first step, the *toa*." But this "lowest step does not confer a title" as the higher ranks do. As "his fowls multiply . . . he changes some of them for a sow; so his property increases, and as he grows richer he desires to take each further step."[3]

It would thus appear that the first part of the rite called Na-tò in Atchin (and so also the Ramben in Vao) represents what was to some extent a preliminary rite for those not yet admitted to the higher ranks. The significance of this will be appreciated when we remember that the monuments erected for the first part of the rite are in both cases those which are associated with the cave and with the Guardian Ghost, which have been shown to represent a stratum of culture earlier than that

[1] The division into groups of ranks, where recorded, is shown on the Table of Grade Names by a thick line dividing one group from another.
[2] Also used for the old type of rite mentioned on p. 274.
[3] Codrington, 3, p. 113.

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associated with the home of the dead in a volcano and with the stone-platform and the second part of the rite. Layers of culture are at the same time represented in the existing stratification of society, which in the Small Islands is associated with rank in the graded society rather than with considerations of birth. As has already been pointed out, the belief in a home of the dead in a volcano is associated with ideas concerning a sky-world and is particularly associated with the higher ranks, and the belief in a home of the dead in a cave with the lower ranks and with those who have not taken any rank at all. This duality of belief, based also on the psychological grounds indicated in the section on "Height," [1] is common throughout the Pacific as between chiefs on the one hand and commoners on the other. It is therefore permissible, as throwing yet further light on the Small Island problem, to call attention once more to the state of affairs among the chiefly Big Nambas, who also have four ranks, of which the two lower are in a different class from the two higher, the two lower being easily purchasable, but the two higher being acquired only by chiefs or by permission of a chief.[2] In this case, also, one of the main distinctions between the two pairs of ranks lies in the nature of the monuments erected, the pigs sacrificed for the two lower ranks being tied to stakes of cycas wood and for the two higher ranks to stones.

Additions to public graded society ritual from other sources.

It must not be supposed, from the above account, that the three types of public graded institution are entities to the extent that either the whole or nothing of them can be performed. On the contrary, it will be seen from what has just been said that, even with respect to such important items as the types of monument erected, elements can be added or taken away. With regard to the ritual, which is extremely complicated, as may be judged by the length of time it takes for the whole cycle to be performed, the opportunities for change are boundless. I refer elsewhere [3] to the fact that, in Raga, what is in other districts the separate rite of Initiation into Manhood has there been incorporated into the graded society ritual. So also we find that the construction of a *ghamal*, or of a new set of slit gongs, with the protracted ritual associated with them, is in some places incorporated with it, in others not. When it comes to a question of the almost infinite number of lesser rites that form part of this fifteen to twenty years' cycle, we find that so great is the variation in them from place to place that not even two villages within the same district perform all details of the rite alike. The same is true even within the restricted area of any one of the Small Islands with their small populations of about 400 inhabitants, where no two single-villages, though they may be halves of one double-village and however reduced in numbers, will have exactly the same series of sub-rites.

[1] See p. 732. [2] See p. 741. [3] See p. 493.

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Artistry and prestige.

Nor will any two successive performances in a given village be quite alike. For, with the keen dramatic and artistic sense of the natives, for whom, in the Small Islands, the Maki affords the opportunity for endless display of every kind in the introduction of new songs, new dances, new improvements to old rites, it is a matter of moment that not only for artistic reasons but also for prestige and the eclipsing of rival villages, at least something new should always be added. The chief method by which this is achieved is in the number of valuable tusked boars, often amounting to several hundred, that will be sacrificed at one time. Details of such mass sacrifices will be found in the accounts given below.

"Copyright," The Selling of Rites.

The numbers of boars killed depends upon the will only of those who sacrifice. With regard to ritual, however, the matter stands on a very different footing. For no rite or sub-rite, no song once performed, no dance once it has been invented, much less any important aspect of ritual, may be taken on by one village from another without heavy payment. There is a system of unwritten copyright for everything. Nothing is given away. Thus, in other aspects of culture also, the minutest alteration in the style of carving a canoe figure-head, in the number of decorative sticks projecting from a house-gable, or in the fashioning of a club, the smallest improvement in ritual—all these, once made, must be paid for by anyone wishing to repeat them.

INFLUENCE OF "COPYRIGHT" ON THE SLOW DIFFUSION OF CULTURE. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE MAKI ON ATCHIN

This system of copyright is an important indication of the super-development of the commercial aspect of life in the whole group, not only with respect to material things, but also towards their ritual proceedings. It is also a fact of prime importance with regard to the diffusion of culture. My chief data regarding this were obtained on Atchin, and will be published in detail in a future volume. But I will anticipate this publication to emphasise a few points.

My evidence is based on extensive genealogies and on detailed accounts as to exactly what individuals were responsible for the introduction of the most important elements of the rite. These records go back for nineteen generations to the introduction of patrilineal descent into the island.[1] Before this time the chief monument to be erected was the single large dolmen, as in the earliest record on Vao; circle-tuskers were at that time unknown, and the highest grade of sacrificial pig was a re-entrant-tusker. At this time also the titles taken were LUWUSH, WEL-WEL and

[1] See pp. 17, 84.

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MULON, the two highest of these being the same as those still in use among the Big Nambas. All the most important elements subsequently introduced into the public graded institution on Atchin came from the mainland of Malekula. Of these the first was the stone-platform, introduced eighteen [1] generations ago, changing the whole character of the rite. For the succeeding eleven generations I have no further information, during which period doubtless many new rites of a less notable nature were acquired. Full details begin seven generations ago, from which time I have record of every Maki performed in the village in which I lived. This is an important date in Atchin history. At this time there flourished on the mainland, opposite Wala, the two villages already mentioned called Lawor and Bot-walim. These two villages, now unfortunately extinct, constituted the chief centre from which the new type of monolith-Maki was diffused to the Small Islands. The process began to make itself seriously felt on Atchin at this date with the introduction of the ten shrines already described, though in a different form from that now used, since all were then sheltered by a single pent roof with screens dividing the shrines from one another, somewhat after the manner of those still set up on Rano, where this type of Maki is still performed. It was at this time also that, along with the new type of monument, the title MAL was introduced, LUWUSH and WEL-WEL being dropped, but MULON being retained in an inferior position to MAL. From then on, numerous other elements were introduced, all being heavily paid for with tusked boars. The next generation saw the introduction of circle-tuskers and of the supernumerary title MELTEG. At about this time also a new development took place, namely the erection of the stone-platform as well as the ten shrines at the outset of the double rite, the stone-platform serving for both parts. Both this and succeeding generations saw also the introduction of a whole mass of new rites, connected not only with the Maki, but with Mortuary Ritual, Gong-Raising, Lodge-Building and every aspect of ceremonial life.

Where these originated before coming to Lawor and Bot-walim I am unable to say. The fact remains that they all had to be paid for at great price, some of them direct, others from individuals or villages on Wala who had themselves previously acquired them from the mainland. After the destruction of the mainland villages, all that had not yet been bought direct from Lawor and Bot-walim had to be bought from Wala, many of such rites having already passed slowly and with endless haggling from one village on that island to another. Many have never yet been so bought, and Wala therefore enjoyed at the time of my visit the position of a Mecca for those seeking new rites. Nor does the selling of a rite in any way impoverish the seller, except by robbing him of the prestige of being its only performer. For on selling a rite the owner does not relin-

[1] One informant put it as high as nineteen.

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quish the right to perform it himself, but can continue to sell it to all comers.

The significant fact with regard to the length of time required for diffusion to take place under these conditions is that, in spite of the enormous prestige enjoyed by the new rite, and the eagerness of the natives for every new thing, after seven generations many of its important features have not yet reached Atchin, only three miles away from Lawor. Yet more, though many others have been possessed by one Atchin village for generations, some of these have not yet reached certain other villages even on Atchin, and, though the villages on the Inferior Side of Vao have now begun to adopt as much of the new rite as they can, the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu on the Superior Side has not bought any of it at all. Vao is three miles from Atchin and six miles from Lawor and Bot-walim, so that, on this computation, the speed of diffusion in this corner of the world under a system of ritual copyright is just under one mile per generation.

THE VAO MAKI

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Dolmen-Maki now performed only on Superior Side of the Island. Villages on Inferior Side have recently adopted the monolith-Maki from Atchin.

As I have already said, the type of public graded institution in which the only monument erected was a single large dolmen has for many generations been obsolete in the Small Islands.[1] So far as we know, and judging from the single monument erected, this rite was not a dual one as is the present-day Maki. The duality of the rite appears to have been introduced along with the stone-platform, which came from the mainland of Malekula along with a series of new beliefs concerning a home of the dead on a volcano. This happened, on Atchin, some eighteen generations ago, but we have no evidence when it was adopted on Vao, though presumably, as the whole movement of culture with which it is associated is here from south to north, this would have occurred several generations later than on Atchin. This dual rite, in which the chief monument erected for the first part is a dolmen and for the second is the stone-platform, is now only performed on Vao. Even so, however, such is the diversity of culture even on this minute island which is less than a mile wide, the whole population does not practise this rite, which is performed now only by the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu, which together form the Superior and therefore the most conservative Side of the Island. The remaining two double-villages have in quite recent times adopted new fashions from Atchin which, though they by no means embrace all

[1] See p. 274.

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CHAPTER XXII

THE SUBMERGENCE OF TOLAMP AND THE SUBSEQUENT WANDERINGS AND EXPLOITS OF ITS PEOPLE

A MIXTURE OF MYTH, LEGEND, AND FACT

MENTION has already been made of the submerged island of Tolamp, which once rose to the surface between Vao and Atchin and supported a flourishing population, but of which there remains now nothing but a submerged reef marked only by the ceaseless breaking of the surf, round which the natives fish, and which appears on the Admiralty chart under the prosaic name of Bracey Patch. We have seen how the inhabitants of this former island, owing to its position immediately southward of Vao, received the new forms of Maki ritual emanating from the south sooner than Vao, and that this superior social position is still held by the few survivors who are now refugees on Vao, and are still looked up to as "first men" of the Maki and given corresponding precedence in all Maki rites. We have seen also that, after the submergence of their island and before giving up their identity as an individual community, there was a period during which they were established on the mainland of Malekula, where they erected a giant monolith taller than any such monument known in the whole archipelago, and left behind them memorials such as the stone pig reproduced in Plate XI.

The tale of the submergence of this island, and of the subsequent wanderings of its people, is told both on Vao and on Atchin in a number of versions which on analysis suggest that the actual catastrophe occurred about 200 years ago. While agreeing in the main facts, however, these versions differ considerably in detail, and provide such an interesting example of the accretion of mythological factors on to what was without doubt an actual seismic occurrence [1] that I have no hesitation in giving them, so far as they have been recorded, in full.

Tolamp and Mal-weaweng.

The Atchin name for the island as spoken by the younger generation is Tonlap, and by the old men is Tonlamp, which approaches more

[1] Compare the alteration in the configuration of the south-west corner of Ambrim in 1913 owing to volcanic action (see p. 228, note 1).

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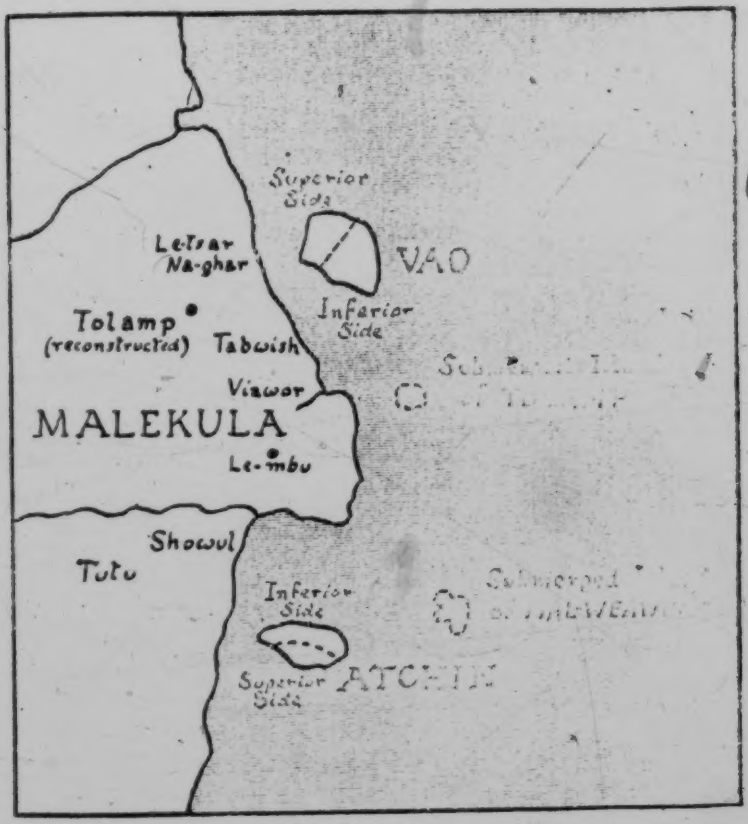
closely to the Vao Tolamp. There is, however, a second submerged island between this and Atchin, marked on the Admiralty chart as



MAP VIII

Sketch-map showing positions of the submerged islands of Tolamp and Mal-weaweng, and approximate positions of those mainland sites mentioned in this chapter which I was able to locate.

Croydon Reef. This former island is called in Vao Mal-vavang [1] and in Atchin Mal-weaweng. Both islands are often bracketed together in the native mind. Thus in Godefroy's account, written from the point of view

[1] Godefroy, I, 1932, p. 215. There are a number of misprints of native names in this work, and this word is here misspelt Valvavang. In his biography (Renaudy, p. 151), however, the initial letter is M, so there is no doubt that Mal-vavang is meant, corresponding to the Atchin Mal-weaweng.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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of the Vao natives, the two are often referred to together as Tolamp–Mal-vavang, and in Atchin before I had seen the reefs I was given to understand that the two names actually referred to two villages on the same island. It is interesting, therefore, to note that in the names Mal-vavang (according to the Vao pronunciation) and Mal-weaweng (as pronounced on Atchin) the syllables *vavang* and *weaweng* are philologically equivalent to the Oba phrase *wai vung*, there used, as seen on page 97, for "matrilineal moiety," found also in the Atchin phrase *n'ei weaweng* used for the ancestor-images representing all the deceased males belonging to the same matrilineal moiety within the erector's own lodge. It is just possible, therefore, that the two islands sometimes represented on Atchin as two "villages" on the same island may at one time have been occupied by localised matrilineal moieties at some period previous to the introduction of the present system of overt patrilineal descent.

Tolamp closely related to Vao and Mal-weaweng to Atchin.

As, after many intervening generations, the surviving descendants of the original inhabitants of Tolamp have eventually taken up their abode on Vao, and I have a note that those of Mal-weaweng finally took refuge on Atchin, it is probable that, as is at present the case in all the Small Islands, each Side of the now submerged community had affinities by marriage with the Small Island nearest it, namely Tolamp with Vao and Mal-weaweng with Atchin, as well as having the relations with villages on the mainland of Malekula which are definitely stated in the stories about to be related. As almost all the Malekulan villages near the coast have since been wiped out in the wars following the introduction of firearms by European traders, the survivors of each of the two submerged islands (or Sides of one Island) would have no choice but to gravitate to that island to whose inhabitants they were respectively most closely related.

THE TALES

The tales told, bound up as they are with a much earlier creation myth, will be divided for convenience into two parts, dealing respectively with (*a*) the actual submergence; (*b*) the subsequent wanderings of the people.

(*a*) The Flood

Vao versions attribute the flood to the sea, Atchin version to the rain.

Turning now to the tales told of the submergence, I have recorded three separate versions, and Godefroy has recorded a fourth. Of these, two are told on Vao, in both of which the island is referred to as Tolamp, and two on Atchin, each referring to Mal-weaweng. All four stories agree in essentials, but show interesting variations in the mythological

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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173 539 *Laha-mbar-mbar's mother marries Ulter, of Togh-vanu.*

Laha-mbar-mbar's mother subsequently came to Togh-vanu, on Vao, and was married to Ulter, founder of the Quarter called *La-mbang-ne-metine*, and bore him a son named Bombo-ronge.

Dating. Giant Monolith probably erected about 150 years ago.

494 This gives us a convenient dating-point, not only for the erection of the Tolamp monolith, but for the founding of the Togh-vanu Quarter just mentioned. For Pelur, my informant, now an old man of 70 or 80, calls both Laha-mbar-mbar and Bombo-ronge *tate*, "father." In spite of this classificatory relationship, however, Bombo-ronge was a white-haired old man (*mer-sean*) while Pelur was still a child, though he just remembers seeing him before he died. Laha-mbar-mbar, though actually Bombo-ronge's half-brother, will be seen from the story to have been at least a generation older, and Pelur never saw him. Owing to the fact that the natives have no knowledge of their own age, it is impossible to establish dates with any degree of accuracy. An approximation, however, can be made by adding the time that has elapsed since Bombo-ronge's death (say 70 years) to his own age (again say 70), which places the erection of the Tolamp monolith at rather more than 140, that is to say roughly 150 years ago, i.e. A.D. 1765.

The founding of the *La-mbang-ne-metine* Quarter by Ulter would thus appear to have taken place about the same time; which agrees within five years with Godefroy's suggested dating seen in Table III. If this calculation is correct, the actual submergence of Tolamp must have taken place much earlier, say at least 200 years ago or round about 1735.

I should be glad of any information regarding similar submergences in this area round about this date.

173 DESTRUCTION OF THE MAINLAND VILLAGE OF TOLAMP IN SUBSEQUENT WARS. THE SURVIVORS TAKE REFUGE ON VAO

Laha-mbar-mbar had a son named Te-lugh-lugh, whose son, named Ter-ter-mal, was the father of my middle-aged informant Ma-taru. At the time of the final break-up of the mainland village of Tolamp during the disastrous wars following the introduction of muskets when the Small Islanders who were the first to acquire these fatal weapons laid waste the adjacent Malekulan communities, Ter-ter-mal was a boy. Some of the fighting that took place during this mournful period which the Small Islanders now bitterly regret is described in the chapter on Warfare, pp. 602 ff. It was as a result of these wars that the decimated survivors

2: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1936
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Small Islands

endless series of minor rites are performed, each involving the sacrifice of numerous tusked boars and an enormous expenditure of food for feasts. Each village performs its own rite in its own time, and the major rites attract guests from all other villages on the island, as well as from other islands and from the Malekulan mainland. There are numerous dance-cycles, frequently lasting all night, and finally, before the supreme sacrifice, for five days and nights on end. Each dance-cycle has its own songs, many of which commemorate the deeds of ancestors, and its peculiar gong-rhythms beaten on an orchestra of upright slit-gongs. Some of the songs are of surpassing beauty, and the gong-rhythms are so complicated that no European has yet been known to master them. Interspersed between the dance-cycles performed at stated intervals throughout the rite are a series of formal square dances and dramatic performances called *na-leng*,[1] many of which have become secularized, but some of which remain traditional and form a running commentary on the mythological background of the rite. This, as I hope to show in a forthcoming work, is none other than a dramatization of the Malekulan version of the journey of the dead, briefly described by me in a recent article (1934), which itself forms part of the mythology of megalithic peoples as far apart as the Nagas in Assam, the inhabitants of the Tamil country of Southern India, peoples of the Near East, of the Mediterranean littoral, and, in our own islands, of ancient Scotland, and in Scandinavia.

The bearers of this megalithic civilization were a maritime and river-loving people or peoples, the details of whose adventurous migrations yet remain to be worked out in detail—there have been at least two separate migrations of them into Malekula—but there can be little doubt that from Scandinavia to Malekula and beyond they have a common origin. One of the greatest interests to us therefore in Malekula is the fact that it is not impossible that, in the ritual of the *Maki* and in the beliefs associated with it, we may see a variant of one aspect at least of what some of our own forefathers, the megalith builders of Britain, did and thought. This rite is also one of fertility and of re-birth, each participant marking his assumption of new life by taking a new name, usually that of a maternal ancestor. The sacrifice of tusked boars is known on Atchin, both by precept and through historical tradition, to be a substitute for former human sacrifice, and those who make the highest sacrifice take oaths to keep the peace for varying periods, extending to three years, or, in the case of old men, a lifetime. Though cannibalism still exists, it is contrary to present *Maki* practice, but its close association with more ancient religious forms is still evident in that when an enemy is wounded, a dolmen, similar to that erected in the older *Maki* use, is hastily constructed in the bush, and the body is placed upon it and there ritually sacrificed, the victor thereupon taking a new name as in the *Maki* proper.

Though the wooden images of ancestors and hawks, and the roofs erected over the stone monuments rot, the stone themselves are never taken down, and remain as a memorial to those who sacrificed at them, whose stones they are henceforth said to be. I have shown elsewhere (1928) that monolith and wooden image combined represent an earlier form in which there was no

[1] See Mr. Harrisson's reference to similar performances among the Big Nambas, p. 332.

3: Harrisson N-5 (1934-1935) 1936
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Tattoo is elaborately humanistic in the Banks Islands; simpler on Pentecost, with occasional spirals and circles; intricately angular on Omba; on Santo simple geometric patterns, almost entirely non-representative. Scarification replaces tattoo in Sakau. On Malekula I have not seen tattoo.

I found that chance, individuality, error, misinterpretation, war, and wind were most important in determining the cultures I investigated; these are allowed no place anywhere in Rivers' 'History of Melanesian Society' (1914). I have also much evidence for the spread of ideas and objects ahead or independent of the people who originally brought them, often accidentally, to one point. There is little evidence to be found for logical coherent waves of the Riversian "*kava* people" type into this part of Melanesia. And whereas movements have generally been considered to pass from the north southwards, there is no doubt that the two most obvious diffusions which I have been able to trace spread westward from Omba, which was almost certainly effected from the east, and northward from Efate through Emae, Tongoa, Hambi to south Malekula; important culture traits in Santo have largely been derived from Malo to the south. After studying the literature and the people themselves, I have come to the conclusion that the culture of south Melanesia is even more complex than had previously been supposed. Far more data are needed to make any broad generalizations valuable. There are still whole islands about whose culture we know nothing. The forthcoming work of Layard, and to a lesser extent my own, will I think demonstrate that some of the north Malekulan and Atchin traits can be associated with ritual or belief all over the Pacific and in much remoter parts of the world. These islands seem to have received the last flickers and backwashes from every step in world evolution: that is true for the period of white influence too.

Present position in the Group

The white is in general disliked by the native: mission natives sometimes like their missionaries. What respect black has for white is founded on what the former calls the latter's "cleverness"—the things he can make, his tinned sardines and launch engines. Among many peoples now, especially on Omba, Efate, Tongoa, and Nguna, there is a dawning determination to have some say in their own affairs. Now the natives have no control of any sort; they know they are being underpaid or misused. Their lack of unity has been and is the main obstacle to reform. Land in particular will be a future problem. On some islands the French claim more land than there is above water; they vigorously curtail the expansion of the native in every direction, and notably on Aore and Malo have driven out whole villages. Among the bushmen anti-white feeling is generally strong but passive; for here there is little concern with the small world outside. And whereas the bushmen are without exception decreasing, the coastal peoples in many parts, and invariably when close to a missionary and his medicines, are increasing.

On the basis of a very detailed study (to be published elsewhere) I am convinced that a hundred and fifty years ago there were not less than one million natives in the group; there are now about forty-five thousand. "Civilization" has crept on, though perhaps more slowly than anywhere else in the world. It is the missionary and the germ that has made the coast safe for civilization.